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COUNTRY

Indochina

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SUBJECT

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Developments in the Indochinese Democratic

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- The Vietnamese Democratic Farty (Viet Nam Dan Chu Dang) is at present going through a very important crisis in both its organizational and political fields. In order to settle problems relating to the organization and future policy of the Vietnamese Democratic Party (PD), the PD leadership and the leadership of the Indochinese Communist Party (PCI) called a general congress of the PD which was held in Tonkin in Merch 1950.
- The PD desired the general congress for the following reasons:
  - To increase the popularity of the PD.
  - To strengthen the organization of the PD.
  - To establish a new statement of policy.
  - d) To devise a plan to meet the present situation.
  - e) To reveal the opposing political tendencies within the PD, which had formerly interfered with the formulation of a common policy.
- The PCI desired a general congress of the PD for the following reasons:
  - a) The PD was gaining in popularity and was showing anti-Communist tendencies. To counter this potential threat, the aim of the PCI was to use the general congress of the PD to consolidate Communist control over the Central Committee of the PD. Through this Central Committee the PCI would then be able to establish a more consistent pro-Communist policy and to impose it on lower echelons of the PD. At the conclusion of the general congress, factions of the PD not obeying orders of the Central Committee would then be considered dissidents.\*
  - b) The second and most important reason that the PCI called the general congress was to use the PD more effectively to lure Vietnamese intellectuals and bourgeois into the Vist Minh front. This was of increasing importance because of the open Communist orientation of the Ho Government.

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- 4. The following are non-Communist members of the Ho Chi Minh Government:
  - a. Vu Dinh Hoe, Phan Anh, and Cu Huy Can are PD members, at present living in Tonkin. Vu Dinh Hoe is fairly popular, but his influence among intellectuals is doubtful despite the fact that he was a Minister of Education in the provisional government of Ho Chi Minh in 1945. Phan Anh is perhaps more popular than Vu Dinh Hoe and closer to the intellectuals and Vietnamese youth. Phan Anh was Minister of Youth in the cabinet of Tran Trong Kim under the Japanese, but his collaboration in a pro-Japanese government is not held against him and has had little effect on him politically.
  - b. Pham Ngoc Thach was a nationalist who may have become a Communist sympathizer. He has never been known as a member of the PD and he is largely a figurehead. Among the Communists, he is not as popular as the Communist leaders; among nationalists he is not as popular as members of the PD. Pham's fate appears to be in the hands of his Communist "masters." He is now thought to be in Cochinchina as an inspector delegate of the Ho Government to Cochinchina.
  - c. Phan Ke Toai, a former mendarin of an upper grade, was Governor of Tonkin under the Japanese. He is not very popular, mainly, perhaps, because of his mandarin background. The Viet Minh uses him solely to attract the support of former manderins for the Ho Government.
  - d. Nguyen Van Huyen is an independent nationalist who is very popular among intellectuals. He was the sole Vietnamese member of the French School of the Extreme Orient and has a reputation as a scholar and writer. His post of Linister of Education is a figurehead position and Nguyen Khanh Toan is actually responsible for the Ministry. Nguyen Khanh Toan is a Moscow-trained Communist.
- 5. None of the individuals mentioned in the preceding paragraph is a Communist, but only Phan Anh, Cu Huy Can, and Vu Dinh Hoe, all members of the PD, are in a position to become actively anti-Communist in the future. Their transfer to an anti-Communist and netionalist camp would be troublesome for the Viet Minh.

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Prior to the general congress of the PD, Communist control of the PD had begun to weaken, since it was impossible for the PCI to control the PD by terrorism, especially in the lower echelons. Can-bo of the PD had become increasingly independent of the Communist can-bo, even though Communist can-bo terrorism still existed. Formerly, the Communists controlled the PD by penetrating the committees at each echelon. When this method proved ineffective on a large scale because of the independent inclinations of the PD, a new method was adopted in which control over the committees of a subordinate echelon was insured by having a pro-Communist committee at a higher echelon. This new method, in evidence even before the general congress, accounts for the desire of the PCI to gain control of the Central Committee of the PD.

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